

Message Text

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ACTION EA-13

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 EUR-10 SAM-01

SAJ-01 EB-03 PM-03 L-02 SP-01 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00

RSC-01 DODE-00 OMB-01 CAB-01 COME-00 FAA-00 PRS-01

DRC-01 DOTE-00 /071 W

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R 081111Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1724

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T TOKYO 5976

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR JA CH TW

SUBJ: THE JAPAN-CHINA CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT: LOOKING BACK,
LOOKING AHEAD

FOLLOWING IS THE SUMMARY OF EMBASSY AIRGRAM A-325 OF
5/9/74:

1. ON MAY 7, THE LOWER HOUSE OF THE DIET APPROVED THE
JAPAN-CHINA CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT, BRINGING TO A
CLOSE ONE OF THE STORMIEST CHAPTERS IN RECENT JAPANESE
DIPLOMATIC/POLITICAL HISTORY. THE GOJ HAD VIEWED
CONCLUSION OF A CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT AS A LOGICAL
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OUTCOME OF "NORMALIZING" RELATIONS WITH THE PRC. BUT THE

AGREEMENT HAD COME TO ASSUME SPECIAL IMPORTANCE AS A TOUCHSTONE FOR IMPROVING THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. SINCE THAT IS A MAJOR POLICY GOAL, THE TANAKA GOVT WAS DETERMINED TO REACH AGREEMENT EVEN AT THE COST OF SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS. CRITICS FIX ON THIS LATTER POINT, AND SUGGEST THAT IN FUTURE THE PRC MAY REQUIRE THE GOJ TO GIVE EVEN MORE SPECIFIC ENDORSEMENT TO CHINA'S VIEWS ON THE STATUS OF TAIWAN.

2. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY SUPPORTED OHIRA'S DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENT QUICKLY, BELIEVING THAT CURRENTLY FAVORABLE CONDITIONS MIGHT NOT LAST. WITH RESPECT TO THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE AGREEMENT AS CONCLUDED, THE GOJ WAS STAISFIED THOUGH IT HAD HOPED TO GET THE SHORT ROUTE TO EUROPE VIA PAKISTAN. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, CHINA WAS CLEARLY THE MAJOR GAINER. THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE NEGOTIATION LEFT FOREIGN MINISTRY PERSONNEL WITH A BITTER TASTE.

3. AS FOR THE GRC DECISION TO SEVER THE AIR LINK BETWEEN JAPAN AND TAIWAN, THE GOJ THINKS THE GRC DID NOT FULLY APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS THAT WERE MADE WITH THE PRC TO PERMIT THE LINK TO BE MAINTAINED. THE MINISTRY BELIEVES THE DECISION TO SEVER WAS MADE BY CHIANG CHING- KUO BOTH FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS (TO STRENGTHEN THE PUBLIC'S SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE AND IDENTITY) AND TO FORESTALL ACTIONS BY OTHER GOVTS (THE SOUTHEAST ASIANS IN PARTICULAR) WHICH WOULD FURTHER COMPROMISE THE GRC'S STATUS IN WORLD AFFAIRS. THEREFORE, IF MAJOR NATIONAL INTERESTS, RATHER THAN MERELY LOSS OF FACE, LAY BEHIND CHIANG'S DECISION, THE GOJ CONCLUDES THAT PROSPECTS FOR RESTORATION OF THE AIR LINK ARE BLEAK.

4. SOME FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES HAVE CONCEDED THAT JAPAN GAVE TOO MUCH AND RECEIVED TOO LITTLE. THE PUBLIC AND PRESS WELCOMED THE AGREEMENT BUT WITH NO GREAT ENTHUSIASM. THE PRIME MINISTER WON PRAISE FOR HAVING MOVED AHEAD IN RELATIONS WITH CHINA, BUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER (AND MINISTRY) WAS ASSIGNED THE BLAME

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FOR GETTING LESS THAN WAS HOPED FOR AND LOSING THE TAIWAN LINK IN THE BARGAIN. THE RIGHT-WING SEIRANKAI, WHICH SPEARHEADED OPPOSITION TO THE AGREEMENT DURING THE NEGOTIATING PERIOD, MAY ALSO COME OFF LOSERS, BY HAVING REVEALED THE LIMITS OF THEIR EFFECTIVENESS, AND IF TANAKA AND OHIRA SEEK TO EXACT REVENGE BY INHIBITING THE SOURCES OF THEIR FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

5. A MAJOR GOJ POLICY OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING RELATIONS WITH CHINA TO PARITY WITH RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, AND THEREBY CREATE OPPORTUNITIES TO PLAY ONE ADVERSARY OFF AGAINST THE OTHER. PRESUMABLY THE USSR WOULD OPPOSE A CLOSE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN, WHILE THE CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT WAS CONCLUDED ONLY AFTER HARD BARGAINING AND WITH NO GREAT WARMTH ON EITHER SIDE, IT DID IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR ULTIMATE NEGOTIATION OF A JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY, AND, MORE OMINOUSLY FROM A SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, DEMONSTRATED THE PRC'S ABILITY TO EXTRACT MAJOR POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FROM JAPAN.

6. CONCLUSION OF THE CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT HAS OPENED THE WAY TO NEGOTIATIONS FOR FISHING AND SHIPPING AGREEMENTS. WITH RESPECT TO THE FORMER, THE GOJ SEES SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE PRC WILL PROCEED EXPEDITIOUSLY AND WITH GREATER WILLINGNESS TO ACCOMMODATE JAPANESE INTERESTS.

7. CONCLUSION OF THE JAPAN-CHINA CIVIAL AVIATION AGREEMENT BRINGS CLOSER THE PROSPECT OF AN AIR LINK BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US, BUT ITS MAJOR IMPLICATION FOR US-JAPANESE RELATIONS CONCERNS THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN. THE DANGER ARISES THAT JAPAN, HAVING MADE ONE CONCESSION TO THE PRC'S VIEW OF THE STATUS OF TAIWAN, MAY BE OBLIGED TO GO EVEN FURTHER IN SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH ACTS, SINCE THEY COULD INFLUENCE OTHER ASIAN NATIONS AND FOSTER A FURTHER DWINDLING OF THE GRC'S DIPLOMATIC TIES AND ITS EVICTION FROM INTERNATIONAL BODIES, WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE US POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE GRC AS A SOVEREIGN GOVT. OF COURSE, US AND

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JAPANESE POLICY MAY NOT DIVERGE IF THE GOJ RESISTS FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE, OR IF US POLICY MOVES ALONG LINES SIMILAR TO THE JAPANESE. THE POINT IS ALREADY OF CONCERN WITHIN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, AND REQUIRES CONTINUING CLOSE ATTENTION IN BOTH TOKYO AND WASHINGTON. SHOESMITH

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